

New Republic



Former Air Force Secretary
Stuart Symington on:

Wilson's Gamble with Defense



Archibald MacLeish
The Muses' Sterner Laws

First in the NR series: "The Condition of the Muses"

Washington Wire T. R. B.

THE TIME has now come when we must reluctantly ask the question "Does Ike really know what is going on?"

It has been evident for some time that on minor matters, like Presidential appointments, the President does not know the score. It is only charitable to suppose that Ike did not know Charles E. Wilson would refuse to sell his General Motors stock, that Commerce Secretary Sinclair Weeks would summarily fire distinguished Bureau of Standards Chief Allen Astin for not endorsing the mysterious battery additive AD-X2; that subordinates would nominate as head of the Bureau of Mines a man receiving a revocable pension from the Anaconda Copper Company. The question is whether the President knows the score on more important things.

At a press conference on May 28, the President expressed amazement on learning from a questioner that the Senate had made its funds for the UN conditional on the latter's debarring Red China. The Senate action had occurred 24 hours before and was in the morning papers, but Ike didn't know what had happened.

There is evidence that Ike did not know his State Department was burning books until just before he made his celebrated speech at Dartmouth, though the papers had been full of it for weeks. Thus the Alsop brothers, who are sympathetic to the President, carefully checked the circumstances leading up to the Dartmouth speech and found that it sprung from Ike's overhearing discussion of the book burning from Canadian Foreign Minister Lester Pearson, New York Judge Joseph Proskauer and former High Commissioner for Germany John McCloy, on the commencement platform. Ike became indignant, say the Alsops: "His first reaction—which is immensely interesting in itself—was to deny the whole story. Nothing of the sort could be going on, he said. . . ." When convinced that the facts were correct he reacted manfully and eloquently in the manner that the Alsops call the "real Eisenhower." But when he returned to

the White House, he again reduced the whole thing largely to meaninglessness with no Pearson-Proskauer-McCloy discussion to inform him.

Able Washington correspondent Robert Riggs of the Louisville *Courier-Journal* reports of the President, "He probably does about as little reading as any man who ever has occupied the White House . . . the President seldom reads even newspapers." The President's information comes to him orally, or by the old Staff Office method (previously described here) of capsule digests. Often, it is said, these reach him with lines of action suggested, which he often adopts loyally like the Commander accepting solutions from staff officers.

We are still not ready to accept these reports *in toto*, though they are being accepted more and more in the observant Washington press corps. Ike is sincere, humble, well-meaning, immensely attractive; conservative at home, internationalist abroad. He still has pathetic faith that he can do an impossible job and also relax with golf, bridge, fishing and isolated week-ends.

For much that occurs he can still be excused on the ground of inexperience. But he *must* know what is going on; to believe that he doesn't would be rather frightening.

We never expected to agree with Ernest T. Weir of the National Steel Company about anything, but here he is back from Europe, saying that he favors a Big Four meeting. Churchill and our European allies strongly favor it as do many liberals and now, also, Mr. Weir, representing big business.

It looks as though sooner or later Ike would be forced to go: there now is a new regime in Russia and what can he lose by looking it over? We wouldn't trust the Kremlin with a plugged nickel, but we also favor any reasonable step to head off atomic war. Resistance to international gatherings centers in the GOP isolationists and also, curiously, in the White House. The first group argues that the USA always gets the worst of any international meaning (e.g. "Yalta,"

"Potsdam" etc.), and the White House seems to fear McCarthy charges of "appeasement" if it makes a gesture to Moscow. But, as Weir says, "what can we lose by investigating the means to a possible peace?"

With serious misgivings at raising the subject, we recently mentioned incidents that suggested an anti-Protestant bias—perhaps unconscious—in Red probes by McCarthy, McCarran, McLeod and others, including the attack on Bishop Oxnham. It was as though certain politicians saw Communism as a private war between Rome and Moscow in which Protestant intellectuals like Dr. Conant—in their defense of free speech and spiritual individualism—were weak and untrustworthy allies. Now McCarthy has just hired J. B. Matthews as the Executive Director of his Senate subcommittee. And in the leading article of the current *American Mercury*, entitled "Reds and Our Churches," Matthews comes out with a sensational indictment of the Protestant record, including such a charge as, "The largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States is today composed of Protestant clergymen."

Official spokesmen for Methodist, Baptist, Unitarian, Jewish and other religious groups, individually or collectively, have recently—and rather suddenly—voiced alarm at a new trend in the Washington witch hunt. Of course if only one clergyman is a concealed Communist that is one too many, but where does Matthews get his figures? He proclaims that in the past 17 years "7,000 Protestant clergymen" have aided the Communist Party! The kind of statistical support he offers is indicated when he cites the signing by 528 clergymen of a press release from the "National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act"—lumping this as a Red Front, although it is not on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations and although President Eisenhower himself seeks modification of the McCarran Act. In all seriousness, here is a matter for all ministers of the gospel to ponder prayerfully. Should they remain silent longer about McCarthyism? Is Protestantism on trial in America?



Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

The "Single Standard" in Action

Spoils versus merit is a struggle as old as government. In 1883 the Republicans introduced into US Government employment a merit system backed by law. Woodrow Wilson strengthened it. The Civil Service lost ground under Warren Harding, but was extended by both Roosevelt and Truman. In the 1952 campaign, President Eisenhower spoke of creating "an atmosphere making government service something to be envied." "The single standard," he promised, "shall be merit and not political reward."

When the State-Justice-Commerce appropriation bill came before this Congress, however, Republicans tacked on a rider allowing the heads of those departments "absolute discretion" in firing any employee. Sen. Mike Monroney (D, Okla.) called the rider a "patronage grab" and led the fight against it. Only Sen. Wayne Morse's vote enabled the Democrats to stop the measure in the Senate, 35 to 36.

But the Republican Party was hungry. Congress had to be by-passed. With one small paragraph amending the civil service rule, Eisenhower removed 134,000 positions under "Schedule A" from job protection. This, it was stated, was to make possible the dismissal of Democrats in confidential or policy-making positions. Asked how many such positions came under "Schedule A," Administration spokesmen said they did not know. The survey upon which such an order would apparently be based had not yet been made.

"Schedule A" jobs do not come under civil service classification. Most fall into three categories: 68,000 overseas jobs to which thousands were transferred when our overseas staffs were increased after the war; thousands of legal jobs for which examinations could not be given because Congress refused funds for the purpose; and thousands of miscellaneous jobs which do not lend themselves to examination—that of Chaplain's assistant, for example. Many in

these jobs were transferred, usually because of government need, from jobs for which they had taken Civil Service examinations. Recognizing this, Harry Truman, in 1946, directed that those transferred from Civil Service jobs should retain their job protection. That is the order Eisenhower has revoked. The rights of veterans, of course, have not been affected. That would be unthinkable politically. But at least 65,000 government employees now hold their jobs at the "absolute discretion" of politically appointed department heads. Many thousands will go to make room for Republicans. And "merit" apparently will not be the "single standard" as promised.

Sawing at the Limb

President Eisenhower seems about to surrender to the isolationists again. While compromising every other issue on which they opposed him, he has remained firm in rejecting the Bricker amendment which aims to transfer authority over foreign policy to the Congress and ultimately to destroy the United Nations. But Sen. William F. Knowland (R, Cal.), acting Majority Leader, has announced that he believes

"the President now feels that since there is a difference of opinion concerning a possible loop-hole in the Constitution," an amendment might be desirable to "clear up the doubt." That doubt never existed before the Committee for Constitutional Government, which denounces the UN at every opportunity, Bricker, and a group within the American Bar Association joined to create it. Knowland, a sponsor of the amendment, and the Republican Policy Committee now hope to erase what remains of the President's concern for his powers in time to bring the amendment to a vote this session.

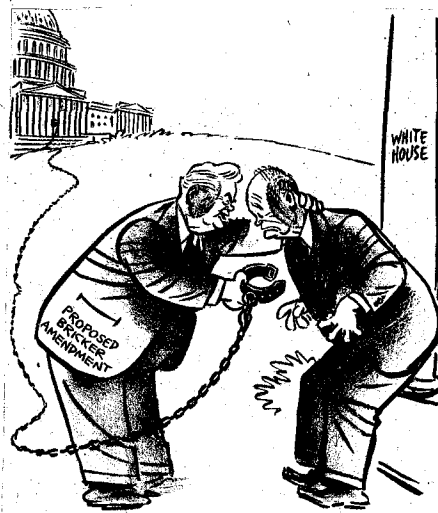
If Eisenhower surrenders he will gravely embarrass one of his most consistent supporters in the Senate. Sen. Alexander Wiley (R, Wis.) has all but gambled his political future on this issue. Officially attacked by the McCarthy Republicans in Wisconsin for opposing the Bricker amendment, Wiley has demanded an apology on the grounds that he has been supporting the President chosen by the Republicans. If the President switches, Wiley is in trouble.

FBI Not Interested

Last month Senator Alexander Wiley asked the FBI to investigate a flood of forged telegrams attacking his Americanism. On the face of it, the FBI might have been expected to go into action.

But the Senator's disputed Americanism consisted of opposition to the Bricker amendment. The telegrams, addressed to the Republican State Convention, bore the forged signature of the Committee for Constitutional Government. They demanded Wiley's impeachment for "violating oath to defend and protect the Constitution" and for having "aligned himself with enemies of America." Inquiry revealed that the sender had given Western Union the fictitious name of "Benjamin Coleman."

Wiley conceded that the case might not involve federal law, but asked the



We want to keep in close touch with you, too.

FBI to help anyway. "The fullest investigation must and will be made," he said in an impassioned speech on the Senate floor.

Wiley has now received his answer from the FBI. It regretted, the FBI said, that the legalities of the matter did not warrant an FBI investigation. The Senator philosophically accepted this reply—noting that the FBI, while enjoying the greatest latitude in inquiries, is not bound to act on all requests.

All legal opinion confirms this conclusion. But the FBI can investigate anything it feels the urge to investigate; and it felt the urge some time ago when confronted with other forged attacks on another controversial Senator who is now Vice-President.

The attacks accused the then Senator Nixon of accepting \$52,000 from oil interests in the 1952 campaign. Like the "Coleman" telegrams, they bore false signatures. Like these telegrams, they lay outside the province of the Justice Department. But the Senate subcommittee investigating the attacks on Nixon received no brush-off when it called in the FBI last February—though a mysterious silence has prevailed ever since.

ROKs Battling Americans?

While Dr. Rhee and United States officials were debating the armistice dispute over the conference table, American and South Korean troops were debating it with gunfire, according to Rep. A. S. Herlong Jr., of Florida.

Mr. Herlong cites an uncensored letter written late in June by a GI in

Korea, describing a situation approaching open warfare behind UN lines.

We are fighting them all around now, [the letter said]. As you probably heard we killed a lot of prisoners at Ascon last night. . . . The marines took over the guard from the ROKs and held a field day on the —s. The war is in one hell of a mess. And for the first time in my life I'm afraid at night in my tent. We sleep with loaded guns in our hands.

The ROKs try to break into our area every night during the blackouts. They got through the barbed wire the other night and we shot at them but they got away. They are supposed to be our friends, the South Koreans. . . . I don't know if I'll spend Christmas at home or in a prison camp somewhere. We don't know who in hell is the enemy over here.

Immediately after receiving this letter Mr. Herlong discussed it with Dr. You Chan Yang, Korean Ambassador to the United States. The Ambassador expressed surprise, according to Herlong, and described the South Korean people as grateful for the bravery and charity of American soldiers. But the ambassador went on to blame the entire Korean War on the UN and the line it drew across the 38th Parallel.

Without doubt tension is high between UN and ROK troops and anti-Westernism remains ready to erupt in violence following any break between Rhee and the UN. In such a break the position of the UN troops would be extremely dangerous. For the ROK soldiers outnumber those of the UN and command-docks rail-lines depots and roads. If UN troops are ordered out they will be forced to leave supplies for superior Communist forces to take.

"It's Like This . . ."

Last September Candidate Eisenhower delivered his major campaign address on farm policy. To do it he went to a farm in Kasson, Minnesota, where 100,000 farmers had gathered for the National Plowing Contest. There, in the fields, Eisenhower said "The first thing we intend to do is to take the emphasis off of Washington."

This June, a third-level Agriculture Department official was sent to address another agricultural group, a small one this time—the American Seed Trade Association at the Waldorf Astoria in New York. This official, John H. Davis of the Commodity Credit Bank, announced that the GOP will end its first year in office "with government more deeply in the farm picture than it was on January 20."

Why such a reversal of policy? "We feel it is more important to save the farmer from ruinously low farm prices than to change farm programs now. This does not mean we are not trying to carry out the campaign promises," said Mr. Davis. But the immediate situation, he added—tremendous surpluses, dwindling markets, slumping prices and the like—must be faced and remedied before the government can get out of the farm picture.

The government, of course, got into that picture for a reason. It was invited. And the facts recited by Mr. Davis sounded very much like those which forced the government to come in and to stay in.

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Rising Expectations: Stevenson in the Middle East

During his stay in the Middle East, Adlai Stevenson has been trying in his mind to work out the lines along which solutions should be sought to two sets of problems.

The first are those urgent, grating, every-day matters which make the headlines and keep nervous foreign attaches working overtime—the British versus the Egyptians, the Egyptians versus the Arabs, the Arabs versus Israel. The second, closer to Mr. Stevenson's way of thinking, are those deeper and more remote which deal with freedom, with hopes and development.

In appraising the Middle East, Stevenson had a great advantage over John Foster Dulles, who preceded him here by two or three weeks. Dulles came in his official capacity as Secretary of State. The things people said to him, and the things he saw and heard, will directly influence American foreign policy for some time to come, and since to some extent Dulles controls the purse strings for the aid-seeking Middle East, his rather bare public comments since his return to the States have been sieved and analyzed and weighed in London and Paris no less than in Cairo, Tel Aviv and Damascus.

Stevenson, on the other hand, came as a visitor with no official capacity. He had more time to see things for himself. Unlike Dulles, he was not seeking immediate solutions to immediate problems.

For example, Stevenson pleased the Egyptians by taking time to visit Luxor and Memphis even in the sweltering summer heat. "We all like you here!" said General Naguib, as he saw Stevenson off at the airport. He pleased the British, who complained that Dulles was too superficial in his estimation of their interests, by visiting the bases in the Suez Canal Zone, which few highly placed Americans have bothered to see. He pleased the Israelis by being photographed, shirt-sleeved, surrounded by children; by his warm greeting and his wise, friendly smile.

Stevenson's strongest impression of the Middle East has been the tremendous tide of "rising expectations" he has found among the people. It is toward helping the achievement of these expectations of real freedom, of good and honest government and sound economy,

that Stevenson believes that the US should direct its policy in the Middle East. Such a policy, he feels, can best be achieved through projects, sponsored by the US, to improve the sick economies of Israel and the Arab States and must not take the form, as has been sometimes true in the past, of charitable "give-aways."

Stevenson was impressed by the new Arab leaders, particularly by General Naguib under whose government the Arabs are getting a taste of enlightened rule. In Saudi Arabia, he was struck by the achievements of Aramco (the Arabian American Oil Company) in education and technical training, which, he believes are having a marked effect on local standards. Although those with long experience of the Middle East, including Mr. Ben Gurion, are somewhat skeptical of this, Stevenson is convinced that feudalism in the Middle East is collapsing. Recognizing that the surer



way to guide enfranchised peoples toward democracy and away from Communism is through encouragement not rearmament, both Dulles and Stevenson have appreciated the difficulties in creating a Middle East Defense Organization at the present time, and the dangers in backing, as a substitute, an Arab Collective Security Pact.

Of Israel, Stevenson was "profoundly impressed with the transformation that has taken place" and spoke of "the vision and courage" of the people. As a change from politicians who usually picture the Middle East purely in terms of oil and manpower and communications, such thinking is refreshing.

Nevertheless, Stevenson did not remain detached from present realities.

"What is most conspicuous in my mind," he said on his last day in Israel, "is the anxiety within the Arab States as well as in Israel for peace. . . . One finds on the Arab side a profound fear of Israel's future expansion. One finds in Israel profound misgivings about the purpose and the intentions of the Arab States. The greatest trouble of all, it seems to me, is psychological—indeed I might say pathological. The removal of these basic fears and tensions is certainly the greatest challenge to statesmanship in this area of the world."

Yet in spite of this statement about mutual fears, Stevenson was no doubt surprised at the lack of interest in Israel shown in his discussions in at least two Arab capitals—Riadh, where oil rights, Anglophobia and fear of a "Greater Syria" seem to be the main preoccupation; and Cairo, where hatred of Israel runs a poor second to hatred of Britain. In Lebanon, Stevenson was forced to remark on this during a conversation with a group of professors from the American University of Beirut, *plus Arabe que les Arabes*. They told Stevenson that the preconditions for peace with Israel are the repatriation of the Arab refugees, the internationalization of Jerusalem and the settlement of the frontiers in accordance with the United Nations' resolution of 1947 (which was flatly rejected by the Arabs at that time). Stevenson has since seen the plight of the Arab refugees; he has seen the lifeless Old City of Jerusalem. Yet he reminded the somewhat startled professors that "one cannot turn back the pages of history" and that he had not noticed that "the whole Arab world was inflamed against Israel."

In fact, Stevenson may well have been struck by the fact that not only the professors, but most of the Arab leaders are far more willing to compromise than their public declarations might indicate. If Britain, the United States and France, who are guaranteeing the frontiers of the Middle East, were to propose some reasonable basis for a gradual settlement, the Arab leaders would not lose face in yielding to what they could claim is "international pressure." Dulles now seems to be thinking along these lines.

It is good that two distinguished Americans have visited the Middle East. Stevenson's visit may well prove to have been the more significant in the long-range planning of the United States' foreign policy in the Middle East.

Tel Aviv

DAN SAMUEL

Paris Dispatch: EUROPE TURNS LEFT

THE Bermuda Conference was originally delayed because of the French parliamentary crisis. And the crisis was protracted into the longest in French postwar history largely because it had to be patched up in the light of the coming conference.

This two-way cause and effect is easily explained. It arose from the recognition in London, Washington and Paris that at the conference General Eisenhower and Sir Winston Churchill might not quite see eye to eye on common policies of the West in regard both to the Cold War and to the immediate problems in Asia and Europe. Sir Winston, wanting re-examination of those policies, also wanted haste in holding the conference. Eisenhower, wanting continuity—or at least greater caution in change—insisted upon delay. Their reasons, however, were the same in essence; they both expected that any French Premier who might emerge from the shuffling at the Palais Bourbon would probably support the US attitude. It is now hoped that a lower level conference will narrow the area of possible disagreement.

What is sad about the French situation is that the political leaders, including the new Premier, continue to give lip-service to the official US attitude toward the EDC and Western European union; while, as Sir Winston knows, an ever-growing majority of Frenchmen are moving into a new *entente cordiale* with the British in support of more realistic flexibility in policy. The real dilemma is therefore that the French leaders cannot get power without US financial and political help; and that they cannot exercise power effectively without the help of the French masses who prefer Sir Winston's line to Eisenhower's.

The French people are moreover farther to the moderate Left than parliament. The government lacks a mass base, among the workers and young people.

A climate of class war now prevails generally among French wage earners. The diocesan *Voix de Besancon* quotes "most ardent aspirations of the workers

are for violent revolution." A speaker at the Congress of the CFTC, the Christian federation of labor unions warned that "the wind of 1936" (the period of the Communist-Socialist-Liberal Popular Front) is blowing again.

There are two reasons for the strong wind from the Left. One is the effect on France of events abroad, the good-will offensive of Georgi Malenkov's Moscow and, more directly, the economic policies of General Eisenhower's Washington. The French workers feel that they have less than nothing to expect from "above," now that French big businessmen and reactionary politicians have the support of their counterparts across the Atlantic.

The other reason is domestic. The most recent of the long series of postwar political crises differed from the previous ones. The problem is no longer merely how to stumble along somehow with the system of parliamentary democracy set up by the Constitution of the Fourth Republic. It is to decide whether and which structural changes should be made in the form of the state and government and in the nature of the economic and social system.

In Italy the young people are going farther Left, many of them all the way to Communism—for want of a successfully competing appeal among the democratic parties. In the recent election some three million young Italians cast their first votes. Many more chose Communism than neo-Fascism, says the *Messaggero*. The election showed the country is swinging to the Left and that the young people are in the forefront of this movement.

On the spot observers of the East-Berlin uprising agree that it was led by workers, most of them young. Richard Lowenthal said in the *London Observer*.

In its origin, this was a workers' movement started by trade unionists. . . . Everything depended on a few men who came forward amid the general excitement, called their fellow-workers together, and proposed definite action . . . they were formed by a common tradition—the tradition of independent trade unionism.

~ If these young men, who proved that no mass basis existed for the Soviets' puppet regime in East Germany, could vote in a free all-German election, it is most likely that they would carry Erich Ollendorf's Social Democrats to power over Konrad Adenauer, regardless of US support, far stronger than any given to the most acquiescent Frenchman. The real choice—the practical choice—here as elsewhere in Western Europe is not, therefore, between the US-supported Right or Right-Center democracy against the Communists. It is increasingly between some new formation, some developing amalgam of democratic socialism, sturdily pro-West though not altogether pro-US, against both the Communists and those men of the Right who falsify the issues for Americans and betray the interests of their own people.

It may seem merely comic to consider Sir Winston a spokesman for Continental European youth, and little short of idiotic to identify his hopes and plans with the aspirations of a once-again emergent Continental European anti-Communist Left. Yet Ollendorf in West Germany, Menfes-France in France, and even Pietro Nenni in Italy can talk to him with the expectation of understanding and being understood. So the comic and the idiotic are close to the realities of present-day European politics because of the lack of a viable, practical, meaningful policy in Washington.

At the Bermuda conference, where the two countries most concerned, the US and Britain with the Commonwealth, have much the same purposes in the world, there also will be no ready-made key to harmony. Success depends largely on the willingness and ability of Sir Winston and Eisenhower to agree on seeing the world as it is.

Our side has weaknesses, the EDC and, more recently, Syngman Rhee have shown. The Russians have equal, perhaps greater, weaknesses, as East Germany has shown. If neither the one set nor the other is under-estimated or over-estimated, the opportunity for Western diplomacy can be greater now than ever before the start of the Cold War.

Paris

FRANK GORRELL



Editorial

The High Cost of Mr. Rhee



FOR THREE weeks the United Nations has been paralyzed and the Korean truce blocked by the treachery and intransigence of Syngman Rhee. Not a truce, but a lull in the fighting is Rhee's objective, after which the war will

be resumed at his initiative and with our arms and men. But if by some unforeseen turn, Rhee's terms for a truce should prove acceptable to the UN and the Communists, then his faithlessness in dealing with the UN is an indication of how firm a settlement based on Rhee's word will be.

Once before Rhee threatened to interrupt the work of the peacemakers. Then, Woodrow Wilson managed to keep him far from Versailles. Generals MacArthur and Hodges lacked Wilson's discernment. With reason, Hodges, as Military Governor, learned to despise Rhee. Yet it was under US protection that Rhee's dictatorship was built.

Every move in Korea's reconstruction was used by Rhee to advance his own power. Japanese property was vested in the Korean Government. By controlling all property custodians Rhee made certain that it was available for sale only to farmers and settlers loyal to him. The Bank of Korea handled foreign exchange. By keeping control of every allocation of more than \$500, Rhee saw to it that no businessman could survive who opposed or questioned his authority. Korea lacked leaders trained in government. Rhee silenced opposition leaders by beatings, jail and economic pressure. Overriding the National Assembly when it questioned his arbitrary actions, he prevented the development of representative government. Constantly shifting his administration, he appointed and fired more than 200 ministers and deputy ministers and so frustrated the growth of executive leadership to supplant his one-man rule.

The result was universal corruption. In any impoverished nation some corruption is inevitable. And Korea has never been more than a few steps ahead of famine. The UN and the US have had food and materials to spare for Korea. They were not sent, and one reason was the utter revulsion felt by military and civilian officials in Korea for Rhee. These men have seen the Republic of Korea Army used as a haulage concern for Rhee's supporters. They have seen food and relief supplies systematically withheld for sale in the black market. One mission from the Food and Agriculture Organization was sent to

Korea by the UN to supervise a large-scale distribution of fertilizer. But Rhee's men forbade it to interfere. They declared that the fertilizer would be sold to needy farmers at a low fixed price. So the FAO Mission watched as the fertilizer was carted off. It estimated that 15 percent reached the farmers at the fixed price and that 85 percent was sold at five to six times the fixed price on the black market.

Today Rhee's defiance of the UN has been greeted with shocked surprise as an isolated and unforeseen event. Yet it conforms with a pattern repeated over and over. Many times, US and UN missions have reached the breaking point with Rhee and threatened to pull out of Korea. And each time Rhee, scorning reform, has answered: *Pull out, and watch Korea fall into Communist hands!*

Rhee, the anti-Communist, has pursued every Communist technique of police rule. He has survived through unreason; the unreason of Americans who placed "anti-Communists" beyond reproach; the unreason of Asians who saw in every act of intervention a plot to restore imperialism; the unreason of reformers who looked on every newborn state as sovereign and inviolable, regardless of its capacity for self-government, or its role in world affairs. In Asia and the UN reason has reasserted itself, and Rhee is without a significant ally. Only the United States, bound by Republican folk-myths, remains Rhee's satellite.

Rhee is another Chiang Kai-shek. In Korea as in China, Rhee's bigotry, and our misguided tolerance, may deliver a free people into Communist hands. Still worse, it can split the US and the UN. For while the US may give in to Rhee, the UN cannot accept his basic position that a failure to obtain all Korea for the Republic within a given time by diplomatic measures would justify an attack by the Republic to unify Korea by aggressive war.

If Eisenhower states these truths, Rhee's answer once again will be: *Get out if you dare!* We cannot get out. We cannot easily bring about a transfer of political power in Korea to military or civilian leaders who could provide better government. The best course, we suggest, is for the UN Assembly to convene in special session and to declare the Republic of Korea to be a trust territory. Since the UN cannot avoid the responsibility, it must seek some authority over events in Korea. A bold move to impose UN authority might lead to initial violence. The alternative, if we prolong indecision, is continued violence between ROK and UN troops and endless war.

Secretary Wilson's Gamble

We now have two Secretaries of the Treasury. But what has happened to the Secretary of Defense?

by Stuart Symington

TWO DEVELOPMENTS HAVE changed the world. The first is the jet engine, and along with it the breaking of the sound barrier. The second, and by far the more important, is the development of atomic weapons.

Since V-J Day further development of these two war instruments has been progressing with unprecedented speed. The greatest mistake this country could make would be to design its Armed Forces on the basis of the nature of the fighting in World War II—or on that of the local war now being fought in Korea.

At the end of World War II warfare on the ground moved at the pace of a truck, or about 40 miles per hour; on the sea at the pace of a ship or about 30 knots; and in the air at the pace of a B-17 bomber or about 190 miles per hour.

Today, only eight years later, warfare on the ground still moves at the 40-mile-per-hour pace of a truck, on the sea at the 30-knot pace of a ship—but in the air it is already moving at the speed of sound, nearly 700 miles per hour—and this pace is steadily increasing.

Prior to the two atomic explosions at the end of World War II, the strongest punch of fire-power was around 10 tons of TNT. Today the strongest thrust is millions of tons of TNT; and the fire-power of the hydrogen bomb is presumably limitless.

The principal national defense problem facing this country since V-J Day has been the effort to keep pace with these changes in the nature of warfare.

We have not kept pace, because while the Air Force and naval air were trying to cope with the speed of sound and the atomic bomb, there has been unprecedented confusion resulting from so much reprogramming caused by constant budget changes.

Under the plans of the previous Administration, adequate air defense, based on that minimum stated as necessary by the Joint Chiefs in 1951, and restated in March, 1953, would not have been in being until 1956.

But under the plans of the present Administration, there is now no date in the foreseeable future when the United States will have reasonable security against atomic attack by the great and growing Soviet Air Force and submarine fleet.

Stuart Symington, Junior Senator from Missouri, was formerly Secretary of the Air Force. This article is taken from a speech in the Senate on June 25, 1953.

Incidentally, in recent days Captain Rickover, our greatest expert in the construction of nuclear-powered submarines, has testified before a Senate committee that six of the Russian new-type snorkel submarines would be sufficient to destroy all merchant shipping in the Atlantic. How many of this type submarines our authorities estimate they now have is a classified matter, but the figure is many, many times six.

For several years all our top military experts have estimated that not later than mid-1954, 12 months from now, the Soviet regime will have both the long-range bombers and the atomic bombs capable of seriously crippling the United States in an all-out atomic attack.

When they might make this attack, only the Kremlin knows. But when we should be ready with defense, surely we should know. We know they have the bombers today. Many authorities believe they also have the bombs.

A recent study, presided over by the head of one of the world's great scientific organizations, made at the request of the Department of Defense, states that if a major portion of the bombs were properly placed, attack would result in the destruction of at least one-third of our industrial capacity, and the mass killing of an estimated 13 million people.

This study also states that our capability to stop these bombers runs from a high of 20 percent under ideal conditions, to a low of less than one-tenth of one percent at low altitude or at night. I should point out that that does not even take into consideration bad weather.

Therefore, as of now, the security of the United States from atomic attack rests on:

1. Such peaceful tendencies as may be held by the rulers of the Kremlin.
2. The capacity of the United States for instant devastating retaliation.

Despite these facts, the Secretary of Defense is now attempting to engineer through the Congress a reduction in the over-all capability of the Air Force.

Worse than the action itself, however, is the effort now to sell the American people the idea that the Air Force will be stronger if he gets away with his plans for making it weaker.

As our former very able Secretary of Defense, Robert Lovett, said last week, the alternatives before America are to continue the full program as planned, in order to gain the security described as minimum by the Joint

Chiefs of Staff, or go for the harder dollar. But it is nonsense to say that we are doing both.

In his testimony before the committee Mr. Wilson expressed little approval of any of the past civilian and military heads of the branches of the armed services.

But the statements and implications made to justify that opinion are not supported by the facts.

It is the system in the Pentagon that is wrong, not the people; and all of us share some responsibility for that.

The business managers of the Air Force have been the Under Secretaries: Roswell Gilpatric, an outstanding New York lawyer; John McCone, one of the country's most successful industrialists; and Arthur Barrows, formerly president of Sears, Roebuck & Co., a man who probably knows more about procurement than anyone who ever came into government.

It was Barrows who said many times that no company in private business could operate properly if forced to function in the manner imposed on the Air Force; because the constant fiscal changes inflicted upon that service guarantee waste and inefficiency.

Mr. Wilson obviously has no use for the opinion of these civilian heads, or our current military leaders, including the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. Omar Bradley, whose record of success with troops in France and Germany has already become an immortal part of American military history.

When in turn Gen. Hoyt Vandenberg would not agree to the wisdom of Wilson's proposed cuts, the fact he was the most outstanding leader of tactical aircraft in World War II meant little to the new defense leaders, as they ridiculed his line of reasoning before the Senate.

BUT EVEN more astonishing than Mr. Wilson's general criticism of previous civilian and military Pentagon people is the manner in which he went out of his way to attack both the ability and integrity of his predecessor, Robert Lovett. Mr. Wilson volunteered in his testimony that Mr. Lovett would have submitted a much lower budget last year if he had not been tired—and very fond of his old friends. Mr. Lovett states this accusation is false. Mr. Wilson also asserted in his testimony that, whereas he was now being honest, the past Administration was not honest about the Air Force cut. Mr. Lovett replies that also is false.

In the recent hearings, Department of Defense officials illustrated Air Force waste by referring to the high cost of the C-119 plane, as produced by one of the two manufacturers. These comments were volunteered. They were not in reply to any questions. Any implication that the high production cost of this plane is primarily the fault of the Air Force is not true. The cost is primarily the responsibility of the producer, the Kaiser-Frazer Corporation. It has done a poor job as the records prove.

In making these criticisms of the Air Force, Mr. Wilson and his associates apparently forget that General Motors has also had troubles common to other corporations. Nobody did a finer job than General Motors on

much of its war production. Some of its executives are my close friends, and have been for many years; and my affection for the late Bill Knudsen included respect to the point of reverence. There was a real shop man. But just because a company is big and has a lot of influence, does not mean it automatically functions better than smaller corporations. Over and over again in his testimony, Mr. Wilson criticized slippages in Air Force production schedules, and emphasized that he intended to see that all schedules were met by all manufacturers.

If schedules are so important, why did not Mr. Wilson do something about it when he was president of General Motors just a few months ago? His own company, General Motors, was one of the chief contributors to the slippages in Air Force plane schedules, because of its failure to deliver aircraft engines on time.

Mr. Wilson did not tell the committee about the long weeks, months and years it took for one of his subsidiaries, Allison Motors, to produce the right liquid-cooled engines during World War II. More recently, Allison has been causing further delay in aircraft schedules because of troubles it has had in the production of engines.

Nor did Mr. Wilson tell the committee that on one order his company took during the war for 25,000 airplanes, eight were built, and thereupon the entire order was canceled because of poor performance, at very heavy cost to the American taxpayer.

There are two theories as to how far the present Armed Forces budget represents the views of the Administration. The first theory is that the President made a careful review and balancing of our military effort, determined with great care the strategic needs of national defense on the basis of his wide professional experience and intimate knowledge of military realities, calculated with care the risks that are involved in a cutback or slowdown of our military effort, and came up with the answer which this budget represents. This has come to be known as the "father knows best" theory.

Secretary Wilson's public statements, so far as they are prepared in carefully worded sentences in advance, seek to give the impression that this careful process of computation of forces is what actually happened, and that the budget is merely a reflection of President Eisenhower's personal strategic judgment.

The second theory is that the money men in the Treasury and the Bureau of the Budget came to the conclusion that at least \$5 billion had to be cut from the Department of Defense budget; that Secretary Wilson, new at the job, told his money man, Assistant Secretary McNeil, that a \$5 billion cut had to be made, and told him to make it; that Mr. McNeil promptly imposed practically the whole cut upon the Air Force; that Secretary Wilson then swallowed this, hook, line and sinker, knowing only vaguely what he was swallowing; and that now the Administration is stuck with the choice of supporting Wilson, right or wrong, or repudiating him. At this stage of the proceedings apparently it is felt that the latter choice is politically impossible. So this second theory as to

what has actually happened is known as the "What else can I do?" theory.

If the \$5 billion cut in the Air Force budget, and all the administrative restrictions that have been imposed upon the planned build-up of the Air Force, are the results of a careful, considered personal study by the President, that is a matter deserving of serious consideration.

If, on the other hand, the President's support of Mr. Wilson is a measure of his unwillingness to repudiate at this stage a policy of Secretary Wilson's, reached by the money men on fiscal grounds and without reference to strategic considerations, then the President's support of the program is quite another matter.

So let us examine the record to determine the facts.

In answer to a question by Senator Hill as to who was responsible for the budget cut of the Air Force, Secretary Wilson replied, "I think I had the greatest responsibility for it, to be honest with that. The two men that had the most to do with it are waiting on either side of me." The two men who were sitting beside Secretary Wilson at the time were Assistant Secretary McNeil, the Defense Department money man, and Deputy Secretary Kyes.

Did the President have a significant part in imposing the \$5 billion cut? Let us hear Mr. Wilson:

Before I left [for Europe] I had a conference with the President, and I told him what I thought we could do. I did not divide it up between how much the cut would be for the Air Force or the Army or anything else. We had a whole bunch of figures, and we were working day and night on them, and Mr. McNeil, here, has been through it so many times that he is really not so bad on the figures in getting them together. I do not know how he does it like he does.

That is what happened before Mr. Wilson left for Europe to attend the NATO conferences in Paris.

Let us now hear him describe what happened when he came back: "When I came back I found some figures. I went over them quickly. They were satisfactory to me . . . the thing is a sound program."

Did Mr. Wilson and Mr. Kyes realize the strategic implications of imposing nearly the whole cut upon the Air Force? Once again, let Mr. Wilson speak for himself: "After we got the things together we added them up. Much to Mr. Kyes' surprise and mine most of the cuts seemed to show up in the Air Force program. We did not say, 'That is what we are going to do: we are going to take \$5 billion out of the Air.'"

Then Deputy Secretary Kyes confirmed this episode, saying: "I did not realize it until Secretary of the Air Force Talbott called the statistical result to my attention."

In other words the budget now before the Congress was conceived in a determination to cut at least \$5 billion from the total Armed Forces budget. This was a decision by money men of the Treasury and the Bureau of the Budget. When that decision had been made, the problem was turned over to the money man of the Department of Defense. At no point is there any indica-

tion that the effect of this cut on the military strategy of this Nation, and hence upon its national security, was thoughtfully considered.

It is amazing that a cut of such magnitude appears to have been made without the concurrence of one single military leader in this country. In all the days of hearings that have taken place, no military leader—none of the bad old Chiefs of Staff or the good new Chiefs of Staff—has testified that the strategic needs of the country are any less, or that the cuts will not impose an unacceptable military risk. All the evidence is to the contrary.

And what of the President? Did he really decide this budget as a military matter, or did he merely decide that he was going to have to back up the Secretary of Defense?

The record shows that the father-knows-best theory will not stand up—and that the Administration is now faced with a question it considers unanswerable, namely, "What else can I do?"

THE TROUBLES of course did not all start after January 20. From V-J Day in 1945 up to 1951, there never was a military budget that even pretended to be based on the defense needs of the country.

The postwar budgets all started out with a dollar figure, fixed not on the basis of what the country needed for defense, but what it was considered expedient to spend.

It was a foolish and wasteful system, for true economy demands that you determine what your requirements are, and then find the most efficient way of getting them.

One would think that after the explosion of an atomic bomb by the Soviet Union, this type of thing could no longer happen in our country.

It was in fact the explosion of that Soviet bomb which began to wake the country up. That happened in September, 1949, 2½ years before any responsible authority had thought it possible.

It was plain that this occurrence created an entirely new situation. So the President called upon the National Security Council to analyze the effect of this devastating fact upon the security of this country.

This was done in a document, known as NSC 68, started in January, 1950, and finally approved by the President in the fall of that year, months after the start of the Korean War.

This paper, representing the best thinking of the State Department, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Secretary of Defense, and the other members of the National Security Council, declared that it would be an unacceptable risk to the security of this country if we did not have by 1954 an Army, Navy, and Air Force of a certain size.

As a result of the principles established in NSC 68, the Joint Chiefs of Staff reached a tentative agreement as to what forces would be required for national security.

Then a full-scale study was begun which resulted in a final determination by the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

After full and complete study, the Air Force believed that a force of 163 wings was necessary to do the job which had to be done to assure the survival of this country

in the event of an attack. The Army and Navy did not agree to that figure; but, after discussion, an agreement on 143 wings was reached—to be built and ready by June 30, 1954.

The new detractors of the Air Force have testified there is no magic in the number 143. That is true. Nor was there any magic in the number 42, approved as the right number of groups less than three months before the start of the Korean War—and there would seem even less magic in Mr. Wilson's arbitrary number of 120.

If we had gone ahead and built 70 Regular Air Force groups, along with the 27 National Guard groups, as recommended by all air military experts in 1948 as essential—there might well have been no Korea.

If today we follow the military experts instead of the budgeteers and the "figures before forces" people, we may be able to avoid a far bigger war than Korea.

This year the last Truman budget in early January provided \$41 billion for national defense, and of this amount gave 16.7 billions to the Air Force.

In this it reflected the published opinions of three prominent men who have reason to know a great deal about this subject. The first opinion is: "For good or ill air mastery is today the supreme expression of military power, and fleets and armies, however necessary, must accept a subordinate rank."

That was Winston Churchill speaking.

The second statement is:

I would just like to say a word about air forces. You see, the dominant factor in war today is airpower. And your air forces are the main striking weapon that you have after the beginning of the war. They are the main striking weapon at once. And therefore the necessary air forces have got to be kept at a high state of readiness and efficiency in peacetime. They must. And if they are not, they are no good.

That was Field Marshal Montgomery speaking.

The third statement was that of the then Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers in Europe, President Eisenhower, when he said:

Airpower is the dominant factor in war today. It cannot win a war alone, but without it, no war can be won. Our goal is to create air strength capable of answering immediately the onslaught of an aggressor and covering at the same time, the mobilization of reserve forces. Since we cannot predict when an attack might be launched, air forces must be operationally ready at all times.

Despite these statements, on May 7, 1953, the present Administration submitted its amendment of the defense budget.

Over \$5 billion was taken from the Air Force. Of this amount \$3 billion came directly out of the construction and purchase of aircraft.

The Air Force lost approximately one-third of its already trimmed budget. It finally ended up with \$11.7 billion out of a total appropriation of \$36 billion—just

33 percent. It is said that this is a businessman's budget, by a businessman's administration. That is not true. No military budget is a businesslike budget which does not tailor the purchase of equipment and the training of people to fit the job to be done.

In an effort to allay mounting criticism of this "figures before forces" policy, the Secretary of Defense now says the new Chiefs will look over the situation.

But anybody with knowledge of how military budgets are formulated knows that such a policy can only mean additional long delay. The new Chairman does not take office until mid-August. By then the budget we are talking about, the fiscal year 1954 budget, will have been in operation for many weeks: and the fiscal year 1955 budget will have been in the making for some time.

Recently it has been spread around that when General Vandenberg stated the Air Force could now only spend \$1.4 billion during the coming fiscal year he only proved the Air Force never needed the \$5 billion.

THERE IS no justification whatever for that story. The additional \$5 billion was needed when the build-up of the Air Force was in full swing. That was last January.

Since then Mr. Wilson put heavy brakes on the Air Force—stopped construction of bases, compelled people to be fired, officers to be dismissed, recruiting to be held back.

To put it in terms of automobiles—which anyone can understand—he took off one of the tires, smashed the carburetor and then said, "See, it won't run. You don't need so much gasoline."

The additional \$1.5 billion is now needed to operate the Air Force program after it recovers from the wrecking job which has been done.

The Chief of Staff testified that these actions have further delayed by six months the date when the country can have a modern 143-wing Air Force.

The summer of next year may be the most important time in the history of the United States. It is the time estimated back in 1951 by our top military experts as when the Soviet will have enough long-range planes, submarines and atomic bombs, to cripple seriously, if not destroy, the United States in an all-out atomic attack.

This grim estimate of the threat to our survival was reiterated by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and transmitted to the Secretary of Defense, as late as March 23 of this year.

Gen. Omar Bradley testified before the House Foreign Affairs Committee as follows: "I know of no intelligence which reveals any change in attitude on the part of the Soviet Union or which would give us any reason to diminish or slow down or stretch out our preparedness effort."

The same day General Bradley so testified, the Administration submitted to Congress this new defense budget which, if approved, would sharply cut the programmed strength of the United States Air Force.

Since 1949, when the Soviet set off its first atomic explosion, United States grand strategy has been based on the proposition that the best way to prevent or to meet a Soviet atomic attack is to build up United States air power with particular emphasis on a strong retaliatory force; that is, the Strategic Air Command.

The new defense budget, by striking sharply at plans for the Air Force build-up, seemed to imply either: first, some reservations about that strategic concept, or second, a decision that while the concept is right, its execution is unrealistic.

The decision to cutback airpower would be militarily justified, for instance, by solid evidence that the Soviet threat had never been great enough to warrant a 143-wing Air Force as soon as possible, or that it had diminished. The Administration offered no such explanation.

The defense goals set by the past Administration, said Defense Secretary Wilson, "could not be attained within the time contemplated and within the concept of a reasonable balance between federal expenditures and revenue."

JUST A FEW weeks before the Soviet struck in Korea, we cut our Air Force strength back to about the level arrived at after the full demobilization demanded following V-J Day—and this despite the acknowledged great and growing air strength of the Kremlin.

All during the critical years in which these reductions in American air power have been made, the Soviets have been adopting exactly the reverse policy, by subverting their entire economy to the creation of the greatest modern jet force the world has ever known.

Apparently the idea now is to meet with a firmly balanced budget, possible waves of the new Russian bombers streaming across the polar wastes to attack our industrial heartland.

It is becoming more and more clear we now have two Secretaries of the Treasury. But what has happened to the Secretary of Defense?

Any real sense of urgency has now gone out the window; and other things have come in which are not pleasant.

When a reduction in federal expenditure is demanded, it has always been a simple matter for the fiscal experts to show how savings can be made if only airpower is reduced.

But the truth is that the replanning and reprogramming that is compelled by this fiscal manipulation has been by far the most wasteful of all Pentagon policies.

At the time of Pearl Harbor the Air Force had 64 groups. We then went to 273 groups. We dropped to 38 groups in 1947.

Upon the urging of Congress for 70 groups, the Air Force went to 59. The money was impounded. The Air Force went to 48. Then we went to 42.

Then came Korea. We jumped to 46. We then threw into action our very old planes, of which there were a great many and we called upon National Guard and re-

serve units, and increased the number of our groups to 87.

In 1951 it was agreed that what was more important than anything else for the future of the United States was to have a 143-wing Air Force as soon as possible. It was decided that that goal could be reached in 1954.

Mr. President, I submit that on this basis a hamburger stand could not be run properly, because every time one of these programs is reprogrammed, every man in the Air Force, whether on logistic or operational duty has to write many orders; and this means many millions of sheets of paper, and endless man-hours in order to complete the reprogramming. That is enough to bankrupt any business, and it is the chief reason for the waste in the Air Force that is being talked about today.

Many times persons leave important jobs in private business to come in at the top of the services, acquiesce in the reprogramming, leave, and then blame the military for any waste involved.

Any efficiency in the purchase of such units as airplanes, engines, and so forth, requires a plan over a period of years. The trick constantly used by the fiscal experts to cut defense expenditures eliminates the very concept of long-range planning, because its basis is fallacious manipulation of lead time on purchased items.

Picture the chaos which would result if many times in one year a farmer changed his mind about what he would grow in his field. We know that such a policy would mean a one-way ticket to bankruptcy. But that is exactly what we have been doing with our Air Force, as these new and inexperienced defense leaders attempt to prove that the way to become stronger is to plan to become weaker. Leading authorities doubt that the fiscal juggling of our defense during recent weeks will result in the production of a single combat plane six months sooner.

Many months ago, as a member of the Armed Services Committee I submitted to the Secretary of Defense for information various questions with respect to our strength.

Mr. Wilson brushed off answering these questions on the ground the answers would affect security. Accordingly, in an effort to find answers to some of them, I have obtained from leading aviation authorities outside the Pentagon facts as they know them with respect to our Air Force power as compared to that of the Soviet regime.

According to these sources, our Air Force has a current inventory of around 20,000 planes; our Navy an inventory of around 14,000 planes.

The bulk of these aircraft, however, are obsolete World War II types. These totals also include trainers, liaison planes, and helicopters.

The numbers of modern first-line aircraft, capable of matching the best the Russians now have in the air are pitifully few.

The F-86 Sabre is the only fighter this side of the Iron Curtain capable of handling the Russian MIG-15. Yet United States factories have built hardly more than a thousand Sabres equipped with the latest modifications which make them superior to the Russian MIG-15.

Canada has built some 600 later model Sabres, for the British Royal Air Force and the Canadian Air Force.

These are the only fighters our allies have which can effectively tackle the MIG-15.

So thin has the line of Sabres been stretched that at one point it was necessary to strip all Sabres from the air defense of the United States to put 125 Sabres in Korea to battle some 500 MIG's.

Later the United States had to borrow 60 Canadian-built Sabres to keep up its Sabre strength in Korea.

Against this total of less than 2,000 United States and Canadian-built Sabres, the Russians have been able to furnish their Chinese ally some 1,400 MIG-15's since the beginning of the Korean War, equip their Polish and Czech satellites with MIG-15's, and still maintain a very large force of Red air force MIG's in East Germany and Russia. The count of MIG-15's in Manchuria has been steadily rising for two years despite heavy combat losses.

Neither our Air Force nor our Navy has a light jet bomber in combat service.

Our intelligence has publicly reported some 300 to 400 twin jet Russian bombers in the Far East alone, with about 100 now based in Manchuria.

In addition, this Soviet jet bomber, plus a still newer jet bomber, have been widely reported in service at East German airfields.

These two bombers are not long range. The newer one does have considerable more range, however; and in any case we now have the technique of refueling.

In the large jet-bomber category, the United States has only flown prototypes of the B-52 heavy bomber, with quantity production a long way off.

In the medium-bomber category, today we have but three Strategic Air Command groups equipped with B-47's; and none of them could be classed as combat ready.

We have more long-range bombers than the Soviet. But the Soviet now have more than enough long-range bombers to deliver an all-out atomic attack against this country; and the United States has no adequate defense.

The increasing efficiency of bombers attacking in darkness and bad weather have made the all-weather fighter an item of paramount importance.

F-94C Starfires, our best short-range night fighter, have just begun to be delivered to combat squadrons.

The F-89 Scorpion, our long-range night fighter, has been grounded and out of service for 6 months and is only now being returned to operation.

The F-89D, another short-range night fighter, is just beginning to get to combat units.

The Air Force stock of modern aircraft is so low at present that National Guard squadrons returning from federal service are being equipped with World War II piston engined Mustang fighters and Texan trainers; and they have not nearly enough of those.

There are neither jet fighters nor trainers available.

And yet most of these National Guard pilots flew jet aircraft during their federal service.

To meet the challenge of the next generation of Russian fighters, the Air Force has three new types under development: The F-100, F-101, and F-102. But none of these is beyond the early stages of development. None is in production.

The normal time from first prototype flight to combat service is at least two years.

In the supersonic bomber field we are still largely in the drawing-board stage.

FOR MORE than two years our Navy has not had a single fighter in Korea capable of meeting the MIG-15 on equal terms. This is due primarily to cuts in research and development funds imposed during the economy wave of 1948. The prototypes that were scrapped or delayed in 1948 would have been the Navy's fighting planes in 1952.

The Navy is just now getting deliveries on a carrier-based version of the Sabre, also a hastily revised Grumman design; both capable of performing with the MIG.

The Navy still has to rely on piston-powered Skyraiders to do its bombing. Its jet and turboprop bombers are still in the prototype development stage, years away from combat readiness.

It has taken the aircraft industry, plus its licensees and subcontractors, about three years since the beginning of the Korean War to build up to a production rate now just beginning to make a dent in our basic lack of modern combat aircraft.

At the current rate of effort, it will take at least another three years to develop and produce the next generation of supersonic combat aircraft.

Perhaps the most dangerous of all aspects of this reduction in our air build-up is taking place in the field of research and development.

Programs for improving the quality of our aircraft and guided missiles of 1956, 1957, and beyond have suffered costly delay in these past few months.

This is because the services, while their requested level of development funds is being acted on by the Congress, have been advised by the office of the Secretary of Defense that a considerable portion of those funds, even if legislated by the Congress, will be withheld from the services by the office of the Secretary of Defense pending review.

There is no question that the research and development programs of the Army, Navy, and Air Force could be better integrated, and any effort to do so is noteworthy. However, a review such as is proposed would take precious months.

During these months the aircraft and missiles eventually found to be vital will be delayed a long time.

And bear in mind that months of delay this year in development of a defense weapon can mean years of delay in its eventual entry into the actual defense force.

It is just such false concepts of economy which resulted in our fliers facing a superior airplane in superior quantities when we started defending the free world in Korea.

As a further illustration, back in 1946 while I was Assistant Secretary of War for Air, and General LeMay, now head of the Strategic Air Command, was in charge of Research and Development, LeMay said:

I just want to report that because of the constant reprogramming and replanning of the research and development program this year, we have accomplished nothing whatever in research and development. All we have done is put our personnel on reprogramming and replanning, as the changed figures have been made available.

There are too many categories in which we are still second best; and General H. H. "Hap" Arnold's classic remark still stands, namely, that a second best air force

has exactly the value of the second best poker hand.

The people of the United States, despite their great sacrifices, have now come to a point where another country can deliver against us a sudden all-out atomic attack, against which this country has neither the weapons nor the capacity to defend itself adequately.

Nor have we the capacity to retaliate properly.

Our position in these early fifties therefore is quite comparable to that of the British in the late thirties, as they waited for the onslaughts of the Nazis.

Who is behind us as we were behind Britain?

These are the reasons why I believe we should add the \$1.4 billion for the Air Force defense budget.

The Crazy Politics of Fluorine

One New England town was saved from the "Communists," "saboteurs" and the plots of the "World Planners"

by James MacGregor Burns

FOR SOME WEEKS this winter my family and I were getting fluoridated water from our tap. Now the town water is "pure" again. Thereby hangs a funny, sad tale.

A year or so ago people in the town got interested in the idea of fluoridating the water. They had been reading about the experiments being conducted in Newburgh, New York, and various other places. The results of the experiments while not conclusive seemed pretty convincing. If you put small amounts of fluorine compounds in the water supply, cavities in your children's teeth would be markedly reduced.

It seemed like a good idea for our town. A survey by the state had shown a high rate of tooth decay here. Besides, fluoridation didn't cost very much. So at our town meeting early in 1952 we voted to order equipment. Only four voters out of several hundred opposed it. But the selectmen, acting as water commissioners, were delayed in buying the equipment and installing it. By the time they did, opposition was building up.

Just how the opposition started, or who aroused it, no one was quite sure. There seemed to be no organized campaign to begin with—only a few persons who had their doubts. A few vigorous anti-fluoridationists in neighboring towns were writing letters to the papers. At some point a curious document began to circulate around town.

Called the "Americanism Bulletin," it was a four-page leaflet edited by a W. D. Herrstrom in Faribault, Minnesota. This was the September, 1951, issue and it was devoted exclusively to the "dangers of fluoridation of

water." Twenty-five arguments were advanced. Fluorine was a "ready weapon for saboteurs." The man running the fluorine equipment might become "drunken" and poison a whole city. Fluorine would break down the "wills" of the people; it had been used for this purpose by the Weimar regime in Germany, and the Communists in Russia added it to babies' milk for the same purpose. Fluorine caused breast cancer. On and on the long catalogue went. The final argument: fluorine was "probably a plot of the world planners."

Slowly but surely the anti-fluorine forces gained strength. They submitted a petition calling for an article in the 1953 town meeting to rescind the 1952 vote. The town fathers, sensitive to the sharp division on the matter, decided to postpone the inauguration of fluoridation until the next town meeting.

Debate at the town meeting was vigorous but orderly. The most eloquent speech for the anti-fluoridationists was given by an attractive young woman who is secretary to the school principal. Fluoridation constituted an attack on the "little people," she said. The "little people's" forefathers had fought for liberty, she proclaimed—now they must preserve it. Who the "big people" were in this case she didn't make clear. Other people stressed that results of fluoridation experiments were not final. "Why gamble?" a woman behind me kept saying in a low voice. "Why take a chance?"

There was a poignant moment when one anti-fluoridationist argued that fluorine might be needed in some places, but not in our town. A young dentist stood up. "I wish," he said, "that some of you had been in my office last week when I had an anesthetist giving gas to a

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five-year-old girl while I took out seven rotted teeth." Nothing more was said on the subject.

There were ludicrous moments, too. Our town moderator started off as the soul of impartiality. "I buy my teeth in the next town," he said. "I don't care how the question is decided." But then someone remarked that artificial fluorides had different effects from natural. Our moderator, who looks something like a bantam cock when aroused, could keep silent no longer. "I've taught chemistry for 40 years," he said, "and that's wrong. It's just wrong."

When the vote was taken, the fluoridationists won, but by a close vote. A few hours later engineers started pumping the first fluoride into the water. Some of us parents felt pretty good. We still made the kids brush their teeth at night and we still kept an eye on the candy box. But we had visions of fewer toothaches—and smaller dentist bills. We were sadly mistaken.

The "anti's" were stung to new action by the vote. Within two days they were organized. Within two weeks they had 1,000 signatures to a petition asking for a referendum to rescind the 1952 and 1953 votes. And the propaganda barrage rose to an unprecedented volume. Public meetings were held and speakers imported. Hundreds of dollars were raised for large ads in the local newspaper. Charges and rumors spread quickly.

THE MAIN CHARGE was that fluoridation amounted to mass drugging. At a meeting of anti-fluoridationists a large vat of fluoridated water labeled "rat poison" stood on one side while speakers drank copiously from a pitcher of "pure" water. There were many other arguments. Fluorine caused "mottling of the teeth." It brought gum disease and crooked teeth, increased heart disease, interfered with blood action. In animals it had caused "crippling of the whole body," increased cancer, blood and heart diseases, shorter life span, and "third generations had degenerated to cripple pygmies."

"If there was a human complaint, from hang-nails to coronary thrombosis, that it was not claimed could and probably would result from fluoridation," wrote the local editor, "it is hard to recall it."

The incredible thing was the effect on people's behavior. During the next few weeks the following happened:

Scores of people went many miles to get jugs of non-fluoridated water.

A woman supporter of fluoridation was called "stinker" and "Communist" by anti-fluoridationist on the street.

People said that their potatoes were turning black when boiled in fluoridated water.

A report spread that goldfish were dying all over town.

A woman wouldn't touch a bar of soap in a neighbor's home; she said it had been lying in fluoridated water and would poison her hands.

A doctor favoring fluoridation was called an "agent"—whether of Moscow or of the companies making fluorides was not made clear.

Against this crescendo of denunciation the efforts of the profluoride group were futile. They did their best. The evidence was carefully reviewed. Letters from authorities were reprinted. Six of the seven local doctors and dentists endorsed fluoridation. All in vain. At the secret referendum, with the anti-fluoridationists supplying cars for voters and successfully marshalling their forces, fluoridation was tossed out. About half the eligible voters in town came to the polls. Within a few hours the machinery was turned off and prepared for sale.

That's the story. What can one make of it?

Obviously the significance of the story is not that fluoridation failed. Intelligent and sincere people were on both sides of the question. Fluoridation is opposed by some experts. The equipment bought by the economy-minded town was probably not the best. The real question is quite different—how account for the mass irrationality and hysteria sweeping over a community of people who are ordinarily thoughtful, responsible and hard to "sell?"

I think the answer can be found not in our town, but in our time. This is an age of fear and suspicion, of big lies and little lies. We are used to irrationality in areas of morals and politics. It seems to have spread now to areas where science usually holds sway. "I'm used to having laymen doubt everything *we* say," an economist remarked to me. "But when they doubt everything scientists and doctors say—that's something new."

Fluorine politics had other curious aspects. All the dentists in town but one supported it. Yet fluoridation would presumably mean a drop in their business in a number of years. What does that do to the economic interpretation of history and politics? The one dentist who differed throws no light on the matter—he is elderly and will retire before fluoridation would have any effect.

The episode does not speak well for the famous New England town meeting. Only a minority of voters showed up to hear the debate and to vote on fluoridation. Balloting by open show of hands is a serious weakness. Many of the merchants in town either stay away from town meeting or duck out before a controversial measure comes up. "I just can't take a chance on my family's livelihood," a grocer said.

Perhaps there is a happy side to the story. Running through the anti-fluorine feeling was a pervasive fear that powerful people were trying to take away the rights of "little people." Fluoridation became an assault on civil rights. One can disagree with this and still have the consoling feeling that our basic liberties are safe as long as people can rise in such indignation against what they consider, rightly or wrongly, to be a threat to their liberties. If they should fight a local attack on freedom of speech or freedom of worship as hotly as they fought fluoridation, civil liberties would be secure in our town. But that is a big "if."

LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THE MUSES' STERNER LAWS

by Archibald MacLeish

FIFTEEN years ago the war in Spain posed a question which many Americans found it difficult to answer: the question of the responsibility of artists and poets in the face of the corruption of human values, the perversion of human intelligence and the enslavement of the human mind with which the rise of the police state threatened the entire Western World. Today that question is, if anything, more urgent than it was in the thirties. The police state, though defeated in Europe, flourishes in Spain, from which it has spread into South America, and rages in Russia from which it has overrun all eastern Europe and the vast extent of China, with the result that civilization has been replaced by police governments in a great part of the earth and individual freedom of mind and conscience, without which civilization as we have known it is impossible, is really secure only in a shrinking area centering politically and economically around our own republic.

More menacing still, the kind of mentality which inflicted the police state on other peoples has made its appearance in American public life and even in the Congress of the United States, revealing itself in the demand, familiar in Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany, that the State should extend its controls to the intellectual and moral life of its citizens: to matters of opinion and belief. Artists and poets who were able to satisfy themselves fifteen years ago that they had no responsibility for the sickness of the world find themselves today facing inquisition into their private lives conducted in the name, at least, of the government of the United States. And the whole problem is raised anew.

If it is to be discussed anew—and more effectively than it was in the thirties—one point should be made at the outset: nailed to the iron door. The question of the relation of any artist to the time he lives in is a question not for his time but for his art to answer. What-

ever duty he owes as artist he owes only *because* he is artist. If his art requires nothing of him in relation to his time, his time, in so far as he is artist, requires nothing. A despotic government may compel him to think one thing rather than another, to substitute for his own convictions the assertions of the regime, but the moment he accepts that compulsion he is no longer an artist: he is a functionary of the state.

What ought to be discussed, therefore, is not a supposed conflict of responsibilities, the one owed to a man's art, the other to society. What ought to be discussed is the obligation of art. Does art, by its nature, impose on those who serve it a duty of any kind with reference to the public world of happening and event? Or is the nature of art such that the artist, the poet, is freed from any such duty—even from the duty acknowledged by the generality of other men? To put it in literary terms, are those critics right who, pursuing their reasons back through the mirrors of Mallarmé, discover loyalty to the art of poetry in loyalty to the inward self alone? Or was Dante right, and Tu Fu and Shakespeare, to whom loyalty to the art of poetry was loyalty not only to the inward experience of the self within the self but to the outward experience of the self within the time?

The literary generation in which a man lives may change the fashion of his answer to that question but it will not change the question. To Coleridge the responsibility of the poet for the world of happening and event—"the close connection of poetic genius with the love of liberty and genuine reformation"—was taken for granted. But Coleridge's reasons were reasons which derived from his conception of the art itself, for to Coleridge "truth operative and by effects continually alive" was "the mistress of poets." With us, though we live in an age not unlike Coleridge's, in which liberty is under attack from the same quar-

ters and under very much the same pretexts, the close connection of poetic genius with the love of liberty and of genuine reformation is not taken for granted. Far from it. But the reasons are **nevertheless reasons** which derive from the art as we see the art. For we believe with Andreyev that life, in the modern world, has "gone within." We believe in consequence that the world of poetry is a world within. And in the world within, the crisis of liberty, the agony of a civilization, though they may throw shadows on the roof of the cave, throw shadows only.

It is, in other words, our modern conception of the proper place of poetry which creates the peculiar modern problem of "the responsibility of the poet." Why we choose to shut poetry up within the inward cave in a time in which the outward world is a world vast, tragic and enveloping to such a point that no human being can ignore its presence or escape its consequences is a question for the psychologists. They may perhaps inform us why we have agreed that our arts may not participate in the encounters of our lives at a point in our history when the encounters of our lives are most desperate. The question for the rest of us is simpler though still difficult enough. The question for the rest of us is whether this modern conception of the limits of the art of poetry is well considered.

It is not, needless to say, an escapist conception: a new aestheticism. Our generation has been pretty well persuaded by critics like I. A. Richards and by philosophers like Suzanne Langer that the arts are instruments of understanding and that what they enable us to understand is our human lives and the world of feeling and of sense in which we live them. We accept the necessary and organic relation between life and art and are even ready, for the most part, to include within the proper concern of the arts the reflection, in the private cave, of the world of public and even political experience.

We agree that what a poet, an artist, feels and may therefore, in the Aristote-

lian sense, "imitate" in his art may include his sense of the sorry world he lives in. But when we come to the consequence of feeling—even the consequence of feeling in the art itself—the modern barrier erects itself. To feel as poet is not, in our vocabulary, to feel as participant, even though the emotion felt is that savage indignation in the face of injustice and cruelty which moved Swift to unforgettable utterance. The poet with us, the artist with us, must not be enlisted in any cause—even the cause of human liberty—even the cause of man. Which, perhaps, is why Yeats ended his epitaph for the great Dean with those passionate and angry words:

Swift has sailed into his rest;
Savage indignation there
Cannot lacerate his breast.
Imitate him if you dare
World-besotted traveller; he
Served human liberty.

World-besotted we may not be, but neither are we capable of the imitation of Swift. Our conception of the art of poetry forbids it. The duty of the poet, as we see it, is to live within the cave and feel whatever moves there: not to judge or choose: above all, not to judge or choose in such a way as to affect the world outside. But are we wise—this is the question we should consider—are we wise to see the poet's duty so? Is it only to feel that matters in the art of poetry? Was Shaw right for once when he announced that "the main thing in determining the artistic quality of a book is not the opinions it propagates but the fact that the writer has opinions"? Is it truly unimportant in the art of letters what opinions you hold so long as you hold opinions: unimportant in the art of poetry what feelings you have if only you have feelings? Would Tu Fu have been the poet he was if the long misery of his later years, the starvation in the villages, the conscription of the children, the millions dead, had filled him with a gloating, leering satisfaction? Would Dante be revered as a poet if the few images of human virtue he met in his life-time were jealously plunged into the pit of his hell?

The truth, of course, is that we are mistaken in our first assumption. What the art of poetry demands of those who truly practice it is not merely feeling but a *kind* of feeling. Poetry like any other art exists within and by virtue of the human condition. Its ineradicable

postulate is man. A poet, an artist, must not only be capable of feeling, he must be capable of feeling as a man: of feeling as Keats felt, whom Professor Trilling has finely called the last image of health in the long sickness of Europe. The poet's labor is to bring his experience of life, his whole experience, to focus and understanding—but to *human* focus, to *human* understanding. That "universal" of Aristotle's which poetry "tends to express" and without which it is not poetry but something else is a *human* universal. Indeed the central thought of Aristotle's doctrine is precisely that: as Butcher paraphrases it, "imitative art in its highest form, namely poetry, is an expression of *the universal element in human life*." Understanding of that fact is a precondition of the practice and the criticism of every art and above all the art of poetry. A material impossibility—Aristotle again—may exist in terms of art but not a moral, a human, improbability—a violation of human expectation and understanding. It is only in its relation to "the universal element in human life" that a work of art exists as a work of art. Unless its truth is human truth it has none.

The implications for our generation are obvious. Loyalty to the art of poetry cannot be taken to justify a refusal of the human world of tragedy and choice. On the contrary it is precisely loyalty to the art of poetry which most ineluctably imposes the acceptance of that world upon us. For though no external power, neither government nor institution, state or church, may justly tell a poet WHAT he is to feel, his art itself will tell him HOW he is to feel. He is to feel as man. And to feel as man is to accept the consequences of feeling. As Swift accepted them. As Milton accepted them.

Whatever in the world of happening and event affects the universal human element affects the poet in his quality as poet. He can no more be indifferent to those evils which destroy the common humanity than he can be indifferent to human destiny itself, for human destiny is here in issue. Slavery—above all that worst of slaveries which constrains the minds and consciences of men against their wills—the slavery which police governments have imposed in other countries and which the police mentality seems intent on imposing here—slavery is a disaster about which those who feel

as men can feel in one way only. And, feeling so, they have no choice, as men or poets either, but to accept the responsibility their passion has imposed. Tu Fu's art did not compel him to write bitterly, and at the risk of his life, of the conscription of the little boys. Tu Fu's art required him to live his life awake and the rest followed. He was unable, *being poet*, to escape the vision of 'the bones behind those weeping eyes'.

It is true enough that a poet, an artist, serves his art and not a cause. He goes his own way with his own will beside him and his own truth to find. But on the great issue, on the issue of man, his truth and the truth of history are one. Or, if you prefer it that way, his truth becomes the truth of history. This, I think, is what Yeats is saying in that curious poem addressed to the men of the nineties, the men of the aesthetic revolt, in which, after years of devotion to the Irish Nationalist cause, and at a time when he was writing political poems which Dowson and Lionel Johnson would have damned, he affirms his constant loyalty to his art.

I have kept faith, though faith was tried,
To that rock-born, rock-wandering foot...

What Yeats is saying in *The Grey Rock* is that "the Muses' sterner laws" demand something more than the Muses' stricter regulations, so religiously observed by his companions of the nineties and the Cheshire Cheese. The Muses' stricter regulations—the drawn blinds, the denial of any passion that has more life in it than death—all this had been well enough for those gifted creatures who "met their ends when young"—and for Yeats young with them. But now the world has changed. Which is to say that Yeats is older. And poetry, which had once been that mirror of the Lady of Shalott which cracked from side to side if you turned your head to look at the actual water-lily, the actual plume, has become, by mere necessity, a way of knowing and understanding and facing whatever a man is obliged to know and understand and face, from that cold heaven of Normandy, cold heaven of despair, to the petty, bitter, degrading squabble with official Dublin over Hugh Lane's pictures; from "that dolphin-torn, that gong-tormented sea" to the ghosts of Casement and Parnell and all the indignation at the heart.

Dowson and Johnson and the men of the nineties had been loyal to the rock-born, rock-wandering foot in what they had *not* done: they had "kept the Muses' sterner laws": they had never given loud service to a cause that they might have a troop of friends. But Yeats, though he had served many causes, the cause of Ireland among them, had been loyal also. For the Muses' sterner laws are not merely the laws of exclusion. They *include* as well. And it is in what they include that they are sternest. They tell the Muses' servants not only what they must forego, but what they must accept as well, if they are to be admitted to that excellent discipline. What they must accept is a whole life, the outward as well as the inward, "that dead young soldier in his blood" as well as "the pale unsatisfied ones" appearing and disappearing to the mind's sight in the blue depths of the sky.

THE STERN CONFLICT

IT IS INCREASINGLY supposed that science and religion have recently become reconciled and that the orthodox believer can now maintain his creed in full harmony with the findings of modern knowledge. This assumption has been fostered by numerous articles, written at the popular level, and by books in which both scientists and churchmen have avoided the real encounter by re-

SCIENCE AND RELIGION, by Charles E. Raven (Cambridge; \$4).

course to ambiguities which are certainly not scientific and which it is painful to accept as churchly.

Canon Raven, Professor Emeritus of Divinity at the University of Cambridge, in his 1951 Gifford Lectures, the first series of which are now published in the book under review, has cleanly avoided these pitfalls and, with a thoroughness as refreshing as his scholarship is distinguished, has given us an honest discussion of the issues that he treats. This is not to say that he will satisfy all the theologians, or even all the scientists, but at least he has satisfied his own conscience.

The early impact of modern science upon religious belief was destructive. This was partly because by the middle of the nineteenth century, science, in spite of its claim to be tentative and

open-minded, had become dogmatically materialistic. The world and everything within it was a mechanism, even though an elaborate and often obscure one, and no room was left for anything that was not resolvable at last into hard material particles—the supposedly solid atom.

This was not claimed as an established thesis; to have made such a claim would have undermined the basic position of science by exceeding in interpretation what was known about the data. Nevertheless, as Dr. Raven reminds us in his recital of the views expressed by such representative spokesmen as Huxley and Haeckel, there was a confident expectation that future discoveries would increasingly confirm the materialistic theories, which science had developed down to date. Inevitably, this struck at the very heart of religion, excluding from rational consideration any genuine possibility that the moral and spiritual were rooted in the final nature of reality.

Meanwhile, established religion was too rigid and too narrowly conceived to be able to meet the materialistic argument on a scientific plane. That it might very well have done so if churchmen had been so disposed, Dr. Raven makes clear by showing the calamitous extent to which the biological sciences, so brilliantly advanced in the seventeenth century, had been neglected in favor of physics and astronomy in the period following. Hence, Darwin's theory of natural selection, mechanistic and deterministic, had far more influence than it would have done if the evolutionary hypothesis had been advanced in a more vitalist and less materialist setting. The fact was, however, that science, no matter how materialistic its outlook, was dealing with a growing world in which it constantly enlarged the scope of its inquiries, whereas established religion was confined within a world the boundaries of which had been marked out in the early Christian centuries.

The first consequence, therefore, of the ascendancy of science was open conflict with the churches. It was rather pitiful that this should have been chiefly dramatized by the "Geology versus *Genesis*" debate, for the questions at issue were much wider. But in any case, as Dr. Raven emphasizes, although the churches tried to make out the wrong case, there was a right case which they should certainly have argued. The scientists had taken a very narrow position which later events were to prove un-

tenable; and in taking it, they had been considerable impetus not only to Karl Marx who made it the basis of his political theories, but also to capitalist imperialism which justified its ruthless competition and its exploitation by appeal to what was looked upon as scientific realism.

This was the early impact of modern science. It was succeeded by a period of uneasy truce. The scientific method was demonstrating its validity, not only theoretically but in spectacular technological results. The churchmen had to make concessions. This produced on the one hand the near-abandonment of theology and the spread of humanism, and on the other the erection of boundaries between the fields of science and religion, making possible the new orthodoxies.

Meanwhile, the true ground of reconciliation was neither humanism, which surrendered too much territory to agnosticism, nor the neo-orthodoxy, which, in spite of its negative merits, produced chiefly intellectual folklore. The true ground was naturalism, which after the drastic revisions of scientific assumptions associated with such names as Einstein and Planck, offered genuine opportunities for an integrated religio-scientific outlook.

This, unfortunately, is far too little understood. Canon Raven himself is not willing to abandon the supernatural as a convenient category though he does in fact place it clearly within the realm of nature. But at least he is not misleading. Unlike some other writers, he knows that the famous Einstein formula $e = mc^2$ is not a corroboration of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans and that the quantum theory is not an endorsement of the Apostles' Creed. Whatever theologians may wish to argue on other grounds than those of scientific findings—and it is necessary that they should—science itself can go no further than natural religion. Even this is not to say that science affirms religious principles; but it does today offer no opposition to belief in the moral and spiritual values as rooted in ultimate reality. Individual scientists, speaking as entire persons and not relying merely upon scientific theory, may well go further than this and affirm that what they have learned under severe intellectual disciplines has encouraged their religious faith. But it is well to regard these affirmations as those of the individuals themselves and

to remind ourselves that although the scientific method should be applied as widely as possible, the truth remains that life is larger than science and the human quest is a many-sided one.

In concluding his first series of lectures, Canon Raven laments that just when science had reached the point where churchmen should have appreciated its changed position and the claim it made upon them for comparable adaptations in religious thinking, they retreated into their "ivory towers, cells and catacombs," and it needed only the atom bombing of Hiroshima "to underline the irony of the situation." Atomic energy, the Canon continues,

the greatest achievement of human research, the result of a generation of intense intellectual and scientific effort, was announced to the world in the name of the two Christian democracies by the annihilation of a city . . . The atomic scientists of America and Britain were not slow to repeat the protests they had made before the destruction of Hiroshima; attempts to mobilize opinion for the formulation of sanctions and standards of conduct were made in many quarters; co-operation with theologians, philosophers and men of letters was invited; the sense of urgency created an opportunity to fulfil the efforts of the twenties. Unfortunately the Churches were no longer ready to respond . . . Christendom seemed to have nothing to say.

A. POWELL DAVIES

THE FRENCH MASTER

WHOEVER HAS TRIED to penetrate the arcana of modern poetry soon learns that its portals are guarded by a mysterious figure named Stéphane Mallarmé. Like Kafka's gatekeeper (*The Castle*), guarding the entrance to a realm of mystery, Mallarmé is imperturbably polite, courteously affable, but alas!, almost entirely uncommunicative. One senses that he knows far more than he will ever

MALLARME, by Wallace Fowlie (Chicago; \$5).

explain; one is tantalized and fascinated by his occasional utterances, delivered with a sibylline solemnity; but, at first meeting, one is more impressed than enlightened. Yet Stéphane Mallarmé has had more influence on modern poetry—not only on French poetry, but on English and German as well—than any other writer of modern times, and an acquaint-

tance with his work is indispensable for any understanding of modern literature.

Until quite recently, very little was known of Mallarmé except what could be deduced from his one thin volume of poetry and his *mélange* of prose pieces published under the typical title: *Divagations*. But a substantial life of Mallarmé, written by Henri Mondor, came out in 1942, and all his works—including variants for many poems and posthumously revealed manuscripts—were published in one volume by Gallimard in 1945. The result has been a recent spate of critical studies, to which Wallace Fowlie now adds the most reliable work on Mallarmé yet to appear in English. For the most part, Fowlie's book is a usefully detailed analysis of Mallarmé's major poems; it also contains a regretably short introductory chapter on his life, and some concluding chapters on the rise of Symbolism and Mallarmé's influence on modern French poetry.

Mallarmé's early poems, as Fowlie notes, were conceived under the sign of Baudelaire. Like the latter, Mallarmé was filled with spleen and ennui; he too experienced the horrors of the commonplace and the desperate longing of the modern artist for an ideal realm of beauty and fulfillment. Baudelaire, however, had simply surrendered to the haunting perspectives of the ideal. Mallarmé spent most of his life as a not-very-satisfactory teacher of English in French *lycées*; and he found his first theme in the struggle between these ideal longings and a necessary submission to the confinements of the real.

"*Ici-bas est maître*" (the world below is master) he concluded in the most striking of his early poems, *Les Fenêtres* ("The Windows"), where the artist, wishing to take flight and be born again "in the anterior sky where Beauty flourishes," is pulled back to reality by the thought that his wings have no feathers. The symbol for the temptations of the ideal, in Mallarmé's early poetry, is *l'Azur* ("The Blue Sky"). And in a poem by this name, Mallarmé calls on all the forces of nature and man (fogs and chimneys) to kill the sky with its taunting glimpses of the ideal; but the obsession of *l'Azur*, like an unwavering sword, pierces the comforting darkness and transfixes the poet.

If Mallarmé had written nothing else, he would certainly have gone down in literary history as Baudelaire's most

gifted disciple. But, in a development whose outlines are still far from clear, Mallarmé arrived at a profound and original transposition of this conflict between the ideal and the real. His poems began to be inspired, not by a nostalgia for the ideal, but by a celebration of the *absence* of the ideal—which, paradoxically, enables the ideal to retain its purity, and to remain as a permanent refuge for the harried spirit.

This theme is most clearly expressed in a prose-poem, *Le Nénuphar Blanc* ("The White Water-Lily"), in which the poet prefers, to the reality of a female presence, "one of those magic, closed water-lilies which suddenly spring up, enveloping, in their empty whiteness, a nothing, composed of dreams intact, of happiness that will not occur. . . ." And in some beautiful lines from one of his final poems, Mallarmé writes:

Ma faim qui d'aucun fruits ici ne
se régale
Trouve en leur docte manque une
saveur égale:
Qu'un éclate de chair humain et
parfumant!

("My hunger, that on no fruit here regales/In their learn'd absence find an equal taste:/Though one should burst with perfumed human flesh!")

Albert Thibaudet, in his irreplaceable study of Mallarmé, has called him a "mystic of non-being"; and, as one of Mallarmé's defining qualities, he noted the positive significance given to images of absence and negation. In a brilliant essay on Mallarmé's theory of language, Maurice Blanchot has shown how this mysticism of non-being provides the key to Mallarmé's conception of poetry. Language, for Mallarmé, negates the brute materiality of the objects it evokes: the more language succeeds in suppressing these objects, the closer it comes to expressing the perfect negativity of the ideal. As a poet, however, Mallarmé is caught in the contradiction of negating reality by means of a sensuous medium which, if it were itself negated, would leave only silence—or the eternal whiteness of the blank page. Mallarmé felt this contradiction very keenly, and in *Sainte*, one of his most exquisite poems, he takes as his theme this ultimate limit of the negating power of language. The modern Muse is pictured as an angel, who forms the shape of a harp with her wing. Delicately touching the feathered

instrument with her fingertip, she plays a music of silence.

Since no poet can be content with silence, however, Mallarmé could not completely negate the sensuous materiality of language; but he could—and did—dislocate language to the point where it has only the most tenuous relations with anything but itself. This is the source of the increasing obscurity of Mallarmé's late poetry, as he explained himself in a letter. "All the mystery" he wrote, "is this: to establish secret identities by an addition that gnaws at objects and wears them out, in the name of a central purity." It is still not certain whether this "central purity" is the ideal nothingness of the spirit negating the real, or whether Mallarmé, who shows traces of having read in occult lore, cherished some more doctrinal notion. But there can be no doubt that Mallarmé saw the supreme task of poetry as the total negation of the real, and, simultaneously, its total re-creation on a new level through the transforming power of language. This is what Mallarmé meant when he wrote to Verlaine that "the Orphic explanation of the Earth" is "the sole duty of the poet and the literary sport *par excellence*," and that all poets had always collaborated in the writing of this "One Book."

Mallarmé himself, however, never spoke of this supreme task of poetry without a strong admixture of solemn irony; it is always, in his terminology, a "jeu" (game or sport) or a "supercherie" (deception). And we can understand why, if we recall the delicate equilibrium he had attained on the see-saw dialectic of being and non-being. The ideal, by definition, was the *absent*, the impossible; to believe that the ideal of Poetry could be realized would be to believe in its destruction. The ideal Poetry, precisely because of its impossibility, was mockingly called by Mallarmé "the Monster—Who Cannot Be!" But the "literary sport *par excellence*" was nonetheless, as in *Le Nénuphar Blanc*, to keep alive this "dream intact" of an impossible Poetry freed from all subservience to "subject-matter"; or, in other words, totally negating and transforming the real. This dream has since become the origin of modern *avant-garde* literature. And how many wearisome aberrations we might have been spared, how much critical confusion could have been avoided, if Mallarmé's ironic bal-

ance had been maintained!

In his last major work, *Un Coup de Dés*, Mallarmé abandons syntax entirely, arranges words pictorially on the page, and writes that the blank spaces are as significant as the words themselves. Here, I think, Mallarmé begins to lose his equilibrium, and to take quite literally the metaphoric ambition to become a "musician of silence." Fascinating though the attempt may be, it entirely transgresses the limits of literature, and enters a region where it is not neither pleasurable nor profitable for anyone but a literary historian to follow. Up to this point, however, no modern writer is a more instructive or more enjoyable travelling-companion than Mallarmé, who once beautifully described his own poetry (and all poetry) as a voyage in quest of the unknown—

Solitude, récif, étoile
A n'importe ce qui valut
Le blanc souci de notre toile.

("Solitude, reef, star/to whatever it was that was worth/Our sail's white solicitude").

JOSEPH FRANK

ARBITRARY BOUNDARIES

PROFESSOR THOMSON of the University of Colorado is one of the very few American scholars who did graduate work in Czech history at the Prague University. He is therefore especially qualified to write on that country, which three times in recent history became of great significance, in 1918, in 1939 and in 1948. His book was first published in 1943, when Czechoslovakia—a nation

CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN EUROPEAN HISTORY, by S. Harrison Thomson (Princeton; \$7.50).

created for the first time in 1918 out of the former Kingdom of Bohemia and the Hungarian province of Slovakia—was under German domination. Its favorable reception has made the present enlarged second edition possible and desirable, at a time when Czechoslovakia, restored in 1945 in its 1918 frontiers without the Soviet-annexed Carpatho-Ukraine, is under Russian domination. The volume, written out of a warm sympathy with the national aspirations of the Czech people and out of an excellent knowledge of their history, will be welcomed by any student of Central-Europ-

can affairs. The high praise given to the book on its first appearance ten years ago is as well deserved today.

Reading of Czechoslovakia's fate after 1918 and thinking of the bitter dispute between Czechs and Slovaks, which the author somewhat understates, one grows strengthened in the conviction that the solution of 1918, establishing a number of competing and jealous nation-states in an area of intermingling nationalities with long historical memories and passionate ambitions, was neither conducive to the peace of Europe nor to the happiness of the peoples concerned.

Professor Thomson wisely ends his story with the events of February, 1948. It is not the task of the historian to deal with the ever changing pattern of a present situation nor to discuss the future. But he may express the hope, that as the result of common sufferings under National Socialists and Communists, the peoples of Central-Eastern Europe may abandon the will-o'-wisp of national independence and units in such a way that historical frontiers, the Oder-Neisse line or the Sudeten mountains, lose their importance, and that peoples learn how to live together, not under the spell of the past but in an effort to build a common future on the basis of good will, compromise and tolerance. This may remain a hope, for the present Communist leadership stresses national sovereignty and is certainly not a good school in those virtues of fair play and mutual consideration, which alone make a peaceful and civilized life possible.

HANS KOHN

SOVIET STORIES

NEW RUSSIAN STORIES is a collection of Russian short stories written since 1917. They are translated by B. G. Guernsey who also contributes the biographical notes on the various authors with an élan that seems to have survived from the spirit of 1917 and is given to incidental, and gratuitous, remarks about the

NEW RUSSIAN STORIES, translated by B. G. Guernsey (New Directions; \$3.75).

horrors of life in the U.S.A. and its glories in the Soviet Union.

Having no acquaintance with the Russian language, I cannot speak with any confidence of the accuracy of the translation. But even for a non-expert, it

seems to be marked more by spirit than finesse. Certainly the translator's occasional attempts to render Russian idiom into American slang are lamentable.

The stories themselves are marked by a rough vigor which expresses itself in bludgeoning satire, in psychological fantasy, and in sentimental pathos and heroics. Significantly, the only English author mentioned, and he is mentioned several times, is Dickens, himself the master of satire and pathos. Only Dickens' "intolerable bourgeois sentimentality," which made Lenin walk out of a performance of *The Cricket On The Hearth*, becomes here the sentimentality of the proletariat, or of the heroic founders of the Soviets. Formally as well, these stories are closer to the open, spacious, ungainly structure of the Victorian convention than to the scrupulously ordered and air-tight construction that the Anglo-French-American world evolved during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Some of the stories (Alexander's "The Landrath") embody that "mystique" of Russianism of which Dostoevsky was the great exemplar and genius. Here, concocted by lesser talents, it sounds merely simple-minded: the sort of thing that if it were done about Americans by Americans, Sen. McCarthy would find impeccable.

In general the collection sounds a temporal note and a spatial one. Temporally, the great event, mentioned or not, is the Revolution which is simultaneously past, present, and future. Spatially, there is a sense of vastness, illimitable and unmeasurable, in the several stories that deal with the eastern vistas of Russia. The great chords that Galsworthy heard upon reading *War and Peace* can still be struck, as they are especially in Vogau's "Big Heart," where English imperialism runs up against the measureless steppe and the measureless antiquity of the Hun and flees, shuddering, from these incomprehensible abysses.

Nevertheless for a sense of formal control, for a genuine irony and complexity, for the saving grace of admitted sinfulness (there is in the entire collection not even a hint of the Trotsky episode or the Moscow trials or the agonies of collectivization and forced industrialism—as if the best American stories since 1917 did not even touch on the moral debacle of the twenties or the economic one of the thirties), one must find these stories wanting and must

agree, while leaving the question open, with the acidulous malprophecy of one of the contributors, Zamiatin: "I am afraid Russian literature has but one future—its past." JOHN HENRY RALEIGH

PRESENTING ASIA

EIGHTEEN HUNDRED years ago, says the Rector of the University of Rangoon in one of these essays, the Tibeto-Burman tribes came from the eastern slopes of Tibet down the Irrawady and Salween rivers into what is now Burma. They did not come in search of food but to preserve their freedom, for "their near-

SOUTHEAST ASIA IN THE COMING WORLD, edited by Philip W. Thayer (Johns Hopkins; \$4.75).

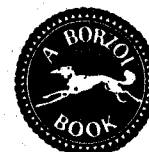
est neighbors, the Chinese, becoming organized and powerful, were harrassing them. . . ." The Chinese have become organized and powerful again, and there are no more rivers down which Southeast Asians can go to safety. The map of Southeast Asia, as one of the twenty-two contributors to this volume observes, has been changed "by new crops, new materials, new people and new ways, and by old peoples moving into new places."

The conference at which these papers were read is one of several efforts made in recent years to increase interest in and disseminate information about a region with which we have common problems of great importance and about which we are ill-informed. These experts from the diplomatic, the university and the business worlds are impressed by what Justice Douglas refers to as the "wreckage of our policies in Asia during the last half-century." Some suggest that we pay more attention to power realities and less to abstract principles; however most of the American contributors appear to believe, as one of them puts it,

that the American people would not be content with a "purely egocentric and hard-boiled policy which looks only to the American interest." They expect our leaders to show a sense of responsibility for the world at large.

The contributions deal with international relations, economic problems, cultural affairs, and the views of business, the role of universities and, of course, Communism. Most of the papers are excellent, and altogether they serve two purposes, both admirable: they add to the reader's knowledge and sharpen his awareness of his ignorance.

HAROLD H. FISHER



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—HANNAH ARENDT

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Notes on the Critics

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH this spring received the Bollingen, the National Book, and the Pulitzer Prizes in poetry. A. POWELL DAVIES is pastor of All Souls Unitarian Church in Washington. HANS KOHN's newest book is *Pan-Slavism*. JOHN HENRY RALEIGH teaches at the University of California. HAROLD FISHER is a professor of Political Science at Stanford.

From Our Readers

■ Book Burning

The American Activities Committee would like to offer congratulations to the *New Republic* on its reports on book burning, book stamping and censorship in the June 29 issue. We also wish to thank the *New Republic* for the space given the San Antonio, Texas, book burning, book stamping situation in the article by Maury Maverick who is a distinguished member of the American Activities Committee, although in this article Mr. Maverick was speaking as an individual.

The Committee would also like to take this opportunity to clarify certain points in relation to policy and recent findings on the situation.

As Mr. Maverick so ably stated, the American Activities Committee is composed of a group of all kinds of people. We should like to add that the Committee is composed of people with all kinds of religious beliefs and many different political viewpoints—conservative and liberal Democrats and conservative and liberal Republicans and some Independents. These diverse citizens have become associated because they share the philosophy that they are first of all Americans and that it is an American activity to promote the freedom of press and publication, religion, inquiry and all individual freedoms promised under the Bill of Rights in the United States Constitution. This naturally excludes those who believe in or would have us adopt totalitarian practices, whether they be Communist or Fascist.

It has also come to the attention of the Committee members engaged in research that while the local groups supporting book burning, book stamping may be of little influence, at least one of these groups acting as a political party has national officers who in the past have promoted such movements as America Firsters and "smash Democracy" campaigns.

We should also like to call attention to the fact that recent appointments of a new Library Board included only four members of the old Board—the past Library Board unanimously opposing book stamping. These members and certain other new members known to oppose book stamping were given appointments to April 30, 1954, while members who have not clearly stated their position have been appointed to serve until April 30, 1955. As all good volunteer firemen, the American Activities Committee hopes there will be no repetition of the blaze, but will remain ready to serve if it comes.

MRS. MARIE S. HALPENNY
San Antonio, Texas

■ I was interested in your issue on book burning; and I'm wondering whether you might consider assailing a pre-1940 policy of the State Department which refused to purchase one copy of *Seeds of Treason*, a book on the Hiss case, but which apparently bought books by every Commie author in the business. Isn't that a sort of book burning?

New York City

VICTOR LASKY

■ Though the material was hardly conducive to contented nerves or healthy digestion, I heartily commend you on your splendid, extensive and edifying report on the book burning situation.

Perhaps the following ditty is expressive of the growing attitude which we are banking on to squelch this incredibly anachronistic menace to a free society:

When normal deprecations
Of questioned publications
Become insane cremations—
'Tis time to show impatience!

Hollywood, Calif.

H. F. SALMON

■ The Central Valley Project

California's Central Valley Project is second only to the Columbia Basin development among the federal reclamation projects. Its contributions to the full utilization of the resources of the entire Central Valley can mean the difference between prosperity and ruin for millions of Americans.

For months this project has been under attack from the Eisenhower Administration and the Congress.

First there was the ridiculous recommendation of a House Appropriations Subcommittee that the regional office that runs CVP in Sacramento be abolished and its work taken over by the Lower Colorado regional office in Boulder City, Nevada.

Next was the action of Interior Secretary Douglas McKay in reducing the Sacramento staff from 2,200 to 1,678 employees.

Now comes McKay's action reducing the Sacramento headquarters from regional office status to that of a project office administered out of Washington. It will be in charge of an engineer, and if McKay follows the recommendations of his advisory committee many of its vital activities will be abolished.

To local residents this looks like one more give-away—this time on the matter of water rights, land holdings, rights of way and distribution of cheap electric power from Shasta Dam. The losers are millions of local farmers and residents. The winner, picked by McKay, seems to be the Pacific Gas and Electric Company.

This surrender of hard won rights is critically important for Californians. It is fascinating to note how it is reported in our newspapers. The San Francisco

Chronicle identified the action as an economy move, in a brief back page story. Hearst's *Examiner* made no mention of it at all. City residents are simply not informed as to what is happening in this state.

Berkeley, Calif.

WARREN OLIVER

■ Controlled Press

During the last 25 years, a considerable number of our newspapers have been consolidated into "chains." The result has been that editorial opinion has become increasingly centralized, with a corresponding diminishment of independent and conflicting thought. Accompanying this phenomenon has been a steady drift toward journalistic irresponsibility which has manifested itself in both news and editorial presentation.

A great many of Westchester County's newspapers are members of an organization known as the Macy chain. The editors of these papers have a certain amount of independence in so far as purely local issues are concerned, but they follow docilely—for understandable reasons—the central authority when it comes to any issue which is not so confined. In most, if not all, of the communities in which these papers exist, they have no competitors.

One of these papers is known as the Port Chester *Daily Item*, and it services Port Chester, Rye and Harrison in Westchester and Greenwich, Conn. Like the other Macy newspapers, it has been exhibiting an increasing fondness for Senator McCarthy. In his connection with this sentiment, it published on May 15, 1953, as its lead editorial one entitled "Why the People Like McCarthy." Using wholly specious reasoning it came to the conclusion that McCarthy "is necessary to our national security and domestic safety."

Although I disagreed violently with the editorial, I did not and do not question Mr. Macy's right to publish this editorial in this and his other Westchester papers. Indeed, I would defend most strongly his right to do so. What did disturb me was the fact that he and his local editors apparently would permit no rebuttals to this editorial. As one of several people who were perturbed by the *Item's* stand on the Wisconsin Senator, I wrote to the editor on May 19, 1953, elaborating on my reasons for opposing his position. I was not alone in this as, to my own knowledge, two other letters on this subject were posted. Not a single rebuttal letter was printed, although the *Item* does print letters to the editor under the title "The Voice of the People."

A short time after the above editorial, the Macy chain reprinted Rebecca West's apologia for "McCarthyism," under a note from the editor that it was being presented as a public service because McCarthy was the most controversial figure

in public life. Accordingly, I wrote a personal letter to the editor, asking him for some reason as to why not a single rebuttal letter to the May 15 editorial had been printed. No reply was ever received.

Because of this, I immediately cancelled my subscription to the *Item*. This resulted in a telephone call to my home by the circulation manager who inquired as to my reasons. I capsuled the above for him and he promised, after agreeing with me that rebuttals should have been printed, to call my position to the attention of the editor. Nearly two weeks passed without any further communication from the *Item*, when I telephoned again. Once more, I was told that my query would be referred to the editor.

This letter is not being written out of personal pique or annoyance. Rather, it is penned because the writer is deeply disturbed by the refusal of a local newspaper to provide any space whatsoever for contrary opinions on a subject which it itself has categorized as "most controversial." The implications inherent in such refusal are frightening to contemplate and certainly inimical with our ostensible standards of a responsible press.

New York City WILLIAM M. KUNTSLER

Bandwagon

That was the year he [Crawford Greenwalt, president of du Pont] married Margaretta du Pont, daughter of Irene du Pont, then president of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Co.

Greenwalt, 51, said the stock was given him "to give an employee incentive, just like any other bonus."—*From the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*.

Among the Filipinos was a steward known as Ike, who later returned to duty on the President's yacht. A ship's order issued January 20, 1953, prohibited any further reference to him as Ike. His name is Esperancilla now.—*From Colliers, July 4, 1953*.

WANTED: Corporations with unused losses \$50,000 up. Replies held strictly confidential.—*From Daily Variety, June 17, 1953*.

One regent said the regents "have nothing against academic freedom when it is properly channelized."—*The Regents of the University of Nebraska, as reported in the San Francisco Chronicle, June 10, 1953*.

Our readers are invited to contribute; \$2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping.—The Editors.

To Our Readers

When the typographer strike took us to a Baltimore printer, all kinds of letters arrived, praising and criticizing our new design. This week the format is really new.

The first NR was designed by Robert Hallowell in 1914. It followed the style of British periodicals; impressive in its length; handsome in its wide borders; elegant in its Caslon Old Style body type, its hand-lettered heads, its fine bookpaper, and the perfection of a flatbed letter press. *A Journal of Opinion* was printed large on its title page. And on the masthead, Hallowell placed his own symbol of the NR; a ship colophon, representing our voyage of discovery.

For 24 years the NR appeared in Hallowell's design. Around it on the newsstands crowded new and modern type faces, shorn of the NR's serifs and flourishes. To meet them halfway, our design was quietly modified.

But the basic change in design came in 1947. The *New Republic* set out then to achieve a much higher level of circulation and substantial advertising revenue. With these objectives in mind, Lester Beall and our own staff designers took the *New Republic* to three columns, shifted from Caslon to Garamond body type, with Stymie and Airport heads and a heavy logotype, to be printed in red or blue on machine finish paper.

The intent then was to convey readability, speed and dramatic impact, rather than reflectiveness and care. When the 1947 objectives proved unattainable, and the *New Republic* returned to its earlier concept, its appearance no longer conveyed its character. Yet continuity seemed important, and so Beall's basic design was kept until this week.

Now the departments are gathered together and identified. Greater emphasis is given to the news because of the present failings of the one-party press. Bodoni and Futura, one old and one new type that work well together, are used in upper and lower case, to give more style to titles. Garamond is kept as the body type, but the logotype is varied with a grey screen to lighten the cover. The fine old initials are back to break up the articles. The title page records again that the NR is a journal of opinion; and Hallowell's ship is in its place to remind us of our purpose and of the standards that Herbert Croly set. The new format—the work of Irvin Shapiro and our literary editor—has been designed to reflect this link with our past and our look into the future.

M. S.



BOOK BURNING

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PUBLIC MEETING JULY 15, 8 P.M.

STUART MORRIS

General Secretary, Peace Pledge Union, Eng.

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some cheerful news

WE'RE SO CHEERED by what our readers have been writing us, we thought you'd like to hear from them too! Here's what a good many people are saying about NR these days:

- Only this past week at an informal gathering of liberal minded citizens, the NR came in for some high praise and commendation—Booneville, Mississippi.
- I hope and pray that you will keep up your crusade—Ames, Iowa.
- I certainly appreciate the job that you are doing in trying to publish true and straightforward information concerning American politics today—Tampa, Florida.
- I feel quite sure that the New Republic through the years has helped to keep my thinking straight—Congressman X, Washington, D. C.
- The New Republic seems to me to be easily the best single publication for examining our social and political problems—Crescent City, California.
- Truly, a journalistic freshet among the unfortunately preponderant muddy rivers. My metaphor may have got away from me, but not my enthusiasm over this belated find—Los Angeles.
- It's a real welcome change in thought from the dull routine of military life—Mitchell Air Force Base, New York.
- To pick up the NR after reading the daily paper is like getting a breath of fresh air—Minneapolis.
- As one of your "new readers," I want to say how happy I am to have the New Republic magazine. It is like a cool drink of water to a weary traveler.—Cuba, New York.

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